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Joseph A. Page

MACE FOR THE MASSES

Carlo A. Weber

THE TIME OF THE FUGITIVE

Religious Man: From Ritual to Self-discovery

Welfare in New York: Let them eat cake • Ghana A. N. (After Nkrumah)• Sidney Callahan on women • Beyond economics? • • A Postscript on Negotiation Now!

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NEWS AND VIEWS

Herder Correspondence enlarges in its new issue on Karl Rahner's withdrawal of support from Hubertus Halbfas, the German theologian whose book *Fundamental Catechetics: Language and Experience in Teaching Religion* discombobulated the German hierarchy much the same as the *Dutch Catechism* unraveled Rome. [Cf. Halbfas, *Commonweal*, 2/21/69]

According to *Herder Correspondence*, what reversed Rahner was "Halbfas' virtual denial of any theological function to the Church's teaching authority." . . . "He, Rahner, had defended Schillebeeckx in Rome through thick and thin, since no exception could be taken to that theologian's Churchmanship (*Kirchlichkeit*)." Rahner could not do the same for Halbfas.

Rahner's words: "[Halbfas'] positions deny the essentially ecclesial character of Catholic theology. For me, a critical function can only be ascribed to theology with relation to the Church's preaching if this ecclesial character is recognized. Hence no other course is open to me than to approve the declaration of the German bishops which withdraws from Halbfas a function to which, according to his own convictions, he can give no value."

The Rahner turnabout quickened *Herder Correspondence's* skepticism. "The history of the Halbfas case to date," it said, "is further evidence of the readiness of even a supposedly fairly liberal national hierarchy to use secretive and repressive measures when the forms of its existence are questioned; to substitute charges of heresy for honest debate . . ."

Halbfas initially upset tempers by reinterpreting such basic concepts as myth, sacred and secular discourse, biblical inerrancy, and the relation of literature to empirical reality. Sample lessons from his book:

—The multiplication of the loaves and fishes is to be understood as "shared necessity is food in plenty" (more direct than the common non-literal interpretation of the crowd being fed by the power of Jesus' word, *HC* noted).

—The call of Jesus to Peter to get out of the boat and venture on the water is demythologized as the need to be ready to get out of the boat of the Church if the Lord calls.

With this last lesson, *Herder Correspondence* commented, Halbfas had arrived; the transition from angry young man to insidious unclean young man had been made. The consequences were virtually inevitable.

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The laymen's group organized in London last August to coordinate opposition to *Humanae Vitae* has announced its transformation into a "Movement of National Renewal." It is to include other groups formed elsewhere in England, some 1,200 laymen and 200 priests.

The reform they envision no longer stops at the content of the encyclical but doubles back to the way it was promulgated. According to *Informations Catholiques*, the movement seeks to "work for the revitalizing and reform of the Church so that never again will a discussable view be presented as the official Catholic teaching, without taking into account the opinion of a number of important Catholics and without a consultation of the Church in general."

Among the measures it asks: lifting the sanctions laid upon the priests of the Southwark and Nottingham dioceses for their opposition to *Humanae Vitae*; creation of pastoral councils in dioceses where they do not yet exist; establishment of a national pastoral council; and representation of the point of view of English Catholics at the October synod of bishops in Rome.

Complementing the Movement of National Renewal is a new Pastoral Development Group, modeled on the Dutch Pastoral Institute, and including such priests as Peter Harris, Peter Hebblethwaite, Laurence Bright, Nicholas Lash and Peter de Rosa, and such laymen as Rosemary Haughton, Monica Lawlor, Paul Burns and Theo Westow. One of its first acts was a declaration on the synod and the need for truly collegial Church government. The latter implies a limiting of the power of the Curia, which the declaration calls "an outmoded political institution dominated by a single nationality and a Latin mentality."

•

Add the Catholic Poetry Society to the Catholic organizations quietly disappearing from the scene. John G. Brunini, executive director of the society since 1932, has revealed that the group stopped accepting new memberships last September and will cease as a corporate entity once business obligations have been terminated.

There's nothing sinister or ominous about the folding. It's just that the years and the work have caught up with Brunini. The Catholic Poetry Society once had a sizable central core (Francis X. Talbot, *America*; Frederick Thompson, *Commonweal*; Edith Donovan, *Catholic World*), but for some time Brunini has been carrying the load alone, "and wearying under it."

There are other factors contributing to the demise. Membership is down, from a pre-war (WW II) high of 1500 to between 400 and 500 ("the war knocked the hell out of us," says Brunini). Also, the bottom has dropped out of Brunini's poetry barrels, thus handicapping the society's publication efforts.

Spirit, the society's bi-monthly, once enjoyed what Brunini calls "a protected market." It helped launch Joseph Tusiani, Clifford Laube, Francis X. Connolly and Thomas Merton ("though he never gave us credit for it"). It had its pick, pretty much, of the field.

"But lately we're not even getting enough poems for the magazine," Brunini declared. "A whackiness has set into poetry and in this poetry we're not interested."

Spirit, circulation 900, will survive its sponsoring organization, however. It will be published out of Seton Hall University beginning this month.

JOHN DEEDY

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CORRESPONDENCE

Apolitical Failures

Waltham, Mass.

To the Editors: The nominal demands of the black students in their recent confrontation with Brandeis University were marginal and insignificant. The Administration could readily have acquiesced without seriously affecting the University community for good or ill. Since the controversy was not politically motivated, but rooted in the human isolation of the black students, the white radicals necessarily failed in their efforts to inject a political content. I fear that Michael Rosenthal, Pamela Ritterman, and Bob Sherman went astray in the same way in their recent article, "Blacks at Brandeis" [March 14]. They analyzed our crisis as a passion play in the failure of liberalism as the ideology of a managerial class: but our drama did not carry this or any other political theme.

The failures that briefly threatened to close the University down are not political failures, and they are not educational failures, and neither the liberals nor the radicals nor the blacks could advance a political or academic solution. The failures here at Brandeis are personal. When the black students and the alienated white students and the patriarchal Administration can bridge the personal barriers that divide us, we shall not care that once we quarreled long into the night over petty and inconsequential matters, and we shall readily forget that for so many years we all shrouded what was significant in the scraps of our decaying ideologies, and the consciousness that we forge together will be a genuinely human one. For then we shall no longer mistake one another for the objects of a political analysis, and we shall all be flesh and blood again.

But we will not heal these wounds by the vividness of our political imagination. We will not learn what stands between us by analyzing, as the authors of "Blacks at Brandeis" have analyzed,

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RACE AGAINST TIME

Consider, if you will, the problem of Latin America. Take Guatemala, for example. A not untypical poor home in that country is a 12 by 20 foot hut, occupied by an entire family of nine or ten persons. The beds are simple straw mats; there is no provision for running water or a latrine. The floor is dirt, with a circle of stones in the middle to contain a cooking fire.

An extreme example? Of course, but not so extreme as some might think. Almost ten million Latin American families live in one-room houses, and the situation gets worse as thousands are driven from the land into already overcrowded cities. Few big cities do not have their own shantytowns in which thousands live near garbage dumps in makeshift shelters of cardboard and tin.

Extreme? Next to malnutrition, the most important factor in disease in Latin America is the lack of pure drinking water. Indeed, in Central America the death rate a few years ago from diarrheal disease due to impure water was one out of 100 children annually. For countless families the only sanitary facilities are provided by an open ditch where sewage stands until rain moves it on. In every Latin American country the infant mortality rate is at least twice that of the United States; in Chile alone, 30,000 children die each year without reaching their first birthday.

Extreme? Almost half of Latin America's forty million children of school age are not in school at all. In Latin America as a whole better than 40 percent of the population is illiterate. In Haiti the proportion is 90 percent; in Guatemala 70 percent; in Bolivia 69 percent. Almost half of Brazil's citizens cannot read or write. Only Argentina, Chile and Uruguay have an illiteracy rate below 20 percent.

Extreme? Probably at least half of the children of Latin America suffer from hunger—a constant, marrow-deep failure to receive proper nourishment. For millions, malnutrition starts at three or four months, when their mother's milk becomes inadequate in quantity or quality. In some areas the death rate for children approaches 400 per thousand live births each year.

It is against this background that a recent report on the Alliance for Prog-

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ress by the Agency for International Development must be judged. The goals of the much-vaunted Alliance for Progress, said A.I.D., had till now been "largely canceled" out in per capita terms because of "staggeringly high" birth rates. One of the chief goals of the Alliance was an annual increase of 2.5 percent in the combined gross national product of the member nations. In the first seven years of the Alliance, the increase actually amounted to 4.5 percent. On a per capita basis, however, this represented an increase of only 1.5 percent because the birth rates in these countries were among the world's highest. To attain the relatively modest Alliance goal of 2.5 percent, Latin American countries would have had to achieve total growth rates of 5.5 percent, as compared with a United States growth rate of 5.1 percent for the same period.

How can this be done in the future? If Catholics need to think more realistically about population problems—as they do—non-Catholics should not imagine that birth control offers a quick or easy way out of this situation. For one thing, all the underdeveloped countries regard propaganda for birth control from the rich United States with a jaundiced eye, to say the least. For another thing, it is easy to overestimate the effect on population even if Pope Paul changed his mind on the pill tomorrow. There are working-class districts in Chile, for example, where the religious practice figure is said to be less than one percent, and many places where less than 15 percent of the people attend Mass or the sacraments. It is hard to believe that such people are shunning birth control out of religious conviction.

No, there is no simple or easy way out. The underdeveloped countries of Latin America need to leap over countless generations into the twentieth century: They may need fewer children, but they also desperately need an all-out campaign to eliminate ignorance and illiteracy. They need determined efforts to bring water and sanitary facilities to the people. They need to revolutionize their procedures on the land and in industry in order to drastically improve their output. They need all these things and more, and none of them can be achieved without massive aid, much of which will have to come from the United States if it is to come at all.

It is in this historic context that President Nixon faces a crucial decision. An interagency panel recently presented him with two sets of figures for foreign aid for next year. One option calls for $1.3 billion, which would represent a token or holding operation; the other figure is $2.1 billion, which itself is $250 million less than the amount requested by President Johnson last year. Both figures are inadequate, but as the report to Mr. Nixon pointed out, choice of the lower figure would mean that economic aid was no longer a factor at all in aiding the world-wide revolution of rising expectations along peaceful lines.

What should be done? Economic aid should be put under multi-national direction, to get the smell of imperialism off it, and at least quadrupled immediately. Impossible? Next to an immediate end to the war in Vietnam, what better work for peace could we engage in? As for those who would call this escalated goal impractical and out of reach, we would simply remind them: 1) that our total aid in recent years has been running to the hardly grand total of 0.5 percent of our national income, and 2) that on the basis of national income the United States ranks not first, not second, not third, but seventh on the list of donor nations. These two facts together ought to give at least some citizens of the richest country in the world a few uncomfortable moments.

PROBLEMS OF THE PAPACY

It is impossible not to sympathize with Pope Paul in his anguish over the condition of the Church. The ferment—whether it renders any part of the Church "practically schismatic" or not—is enough to educe from any traditional authority-figure the cries of lament that have been Paul's for many months, reaching a sort of epiphany during Holy Week with the evoking of the images of schismatics and crucifiers.

On the other hand, it is impossible not to sympathize with many of those whose initiatives provoke the condemnations of Pope Paul. There is an anguish among these people also, uncredited though it generally may be. It is an anguish born of the sensitive character of those in rebellion against archaic values and practices, and underscored by their disposition to frame their contentions and their concepts of change, not according to schismatic codes of their own devising, but within norms which, however unorthodox, are a logical extension of Vatican II. In no sense are these men crucifiers and only in the parlance of the timid and the scared are they schismatics.

Sympathy has its priorities, of course, and in an ecclesiastical context it belongs with those responsive to the dynamics of Christianity and willing to risk the full thrust of forces at work in the Church at any point of its life. This has never been more true than now, as the Church feels the enzymatic effects of Vatican II. By common equations, this places sympathy less with Pope Paul than with those who incur his criticism.

The future will decide whether that is a tendentious judgment. But if history is a guide, the judgment will hold up. Not even papal history has been generous to the hesitant and the equivocal, and, like it or not, it is those qualities which mark the present pontificate; which contribute to the unrest the Pope is so anxious to quell; and which threaten to aggravate matters by putting to the test the patience of the residue of Catholics disposed to pursue renewal by orderly establishment methods. In a word, the chaos within the Church, whatever its multiple

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causes, is seriously complicated by the very style of the present pontificate and the deficient example it sets of trust and open commitment to an evolving Christianity and fundamental prescripts of that which is the source of much of today's ferment, Vatican II.

Instances of this deficiency seem forever at hand, the latest being the blunting anew of hopes for true collegial decision-making within the Church by the counterbalancing of the forthcoming Synod of Bishops with a consistory to create new members for the out-moded College of Cardinals. The same thing happened in 1967 with results as subtly enervating as they promise to be once again.

The point is that this insistence on dualism, this refusal to part with the past and embrace renewal on generous terms unsettles the Church as much as the actions of the most calculating mischief-maker. It cannot continue indefinitely without the Church slipping in fact into the dire state feared by a pessimistic Pope.

Welfare in New York: Let Them Eat Cake

People who read the inside pages of the papers had been predicting for months that welfare was in trouble. Small stories about Long Island women's groups and upstate politicians voicing opposition to the "exploding" New York City welfare rolls meant danger for the poor. But few anticipated the savagery of the Republicans in Albany who last week knuckled under to a suburban revolt and enacted a welfare package which trimmed $128 million from the State's welfare budget, a cut which may mean a $500 million loss to the city when federal assistance is deducted.

The heart of the matter was school aid versus welfare aid. Republican Assemblymen from Long Island's suburban Nassau County, where the tax rolls are fat, the school systems objects of local pride, and the welfare problem one of the reasons homeowners left the City, said they would not support Rockefeller's trimmed-down budget if it included school aid cuts. Originally the Governor had asked for an across-the-board 5 percent reduction in state aid, but he had earlier agreed to "selective" cuts. The eventual settlement amounted to selecting welfare (including Medicaid) as the source of funds to bankroll the school systems. The final budget, which the Governor is expected to have signed by Easter, restored $74 million of the original $104 million cut from school aid; by contrast it upped the welfare cut from $51 million to $128 million. The 21-page measure, including the cuts, was dropped on legislators' desks only a day before it was rammed through by an almost straight party vote, amid widespread stories that political payoffs and legislative favors had greased the skids.

To the clients, the overwhelming majority of whom reside in New York City, the results will be staggering. Food allowances are expected to drop a third, from $6 to about $4 a day for a family of six. Grants covering special clothing, housewares, and furniture needs, now $100 a year per person, are out. Clients will have to pay for utilities out of regular budgets. Average payments to a family of four will drop from the present $222 to $208, plus rent and heat. This figure will be a flat rate, replacing formulas which provided for specific needs. This means families with special problems requiring additional payments will suffer more as they are reduced to the standard. Welfare officials estimate some families may lose $700 a year. Generally, the reductions will cut basic checks from $4,100 for a family of four, to about $3,900. Federal statistics peg a "modest" standard of living for such a family at $6,000.

Monetary losses are also to be accompanied by demeaning administrative changes: clients will have to get statements every two weeks from State Employment Service offices that no jobs whatever are available to them or face removal from the rolls; applicants living in New York State less than a year will have to prove they did not come here to get on welfare, shifting the onus from administrators to clients; payment vouchers can be substituted for cash.

The lawmakers' action is the latest in a series of moves which have added to the problems of the poor in New York City. Last August the City announced an administrative change replacing the minimum standards system with allotments to cover household and clothing needs. (These are the $100 payments subsequently knocked out.) Previously clients filed forms attesting that they had less than the minimum standard (amounts established for everything from underwear to iceboxes) and wished to be brought up to par. If the caseworker approved the application, the client got the money to buy needed items. Amounts were set low and stipends forced the purchase of shoddy goods, but the system had air in it and could work as a financial cushion. The real issues were low payments and the mandatory filing for every item.

Last spring the militant City-Wide Coordinating Committee of Welfare Clients, attempting to show that welfare short-changed clients, and in line with its aim of proving the system unworkable, rounded up persons who were living below standard and flooded the welfare centers with them. The action forced the City to pay as much in special grants by June 1968 as it had for all of 1967. In August, the City junked the minimum standards system and replaced it with the $100 flat grants. The new system sent money to all, whereas the old system reached only 300,000 clients; but it permanently stranded below the minimum those under standard before the changeover. For many this meant serious hard-

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ship, since minimum standards checks often reached several hundred dollars, while the change left only the $100 annual grant. Last week Albany took that away.

Another money saver is the Department's reorganization plan, aimed at coping with the City's increasing welfare population, which grew by 200,000 last year and is expected to hit 1.2 million in 1969. Blue collar job loss, ghetto under- and unemployment, better information, client militancy, and changing attitudes about welfare make it likely that the trend will continue, and the City has responded by announcing a plan to rationalize its welfare operations and cut costs by splitting income maintenance from social services—that is, letting clerks handle paperwork and social workers deal with clients' problems.

The new state laws may force changes in the size of staff, but the Department plans to go ahead with reorganization, completing it by mid-1970. According to original plans, social work staffs are to be reduced by attrition from a present 8,000 to about 3,800 (2,400 caseworkers and 1,400 case aides, largely former clients working for Welfare at $4,250 a year). This will mean big savings, as opposed to the $55 million extra the Department estimates it would have had to spend in order to put on a needed 9,000 additional social workers had it stuck with the old system. With the Lindsay administration being pilloried for everything from snow removal to anti-Semitism, this covers a sensitive political flank.

But what will reorganization do for, or to, clients. First, the ratio of workers to clients will run about 1-to-315. As a result, outside of mandated services, help will be on a demand basis only, in effect shifting the burden of action to clients. Further, time limits will be placed on services to keep workers from getting tied up on a single case. It is a combination that troubles many people. "Clients are often scared, and many of them are too beaten to do anything. Some will get to the centers, but others won't know what to do," says a woman who heads a Brooklyn clients' group.

Safe but not SANE

Postscript on Negotiation Now!

It has been quite some time since I wrote the essay on Negotiation Now! which appeared in *American Catholics and Vietnam*. Reviewing that book in a recent *Commonweal* [Feb. 28, 1969], Bishop James Shannon remarks that the effect of Negotiation Now! "has been somewhat more modest than Mr. Ritt's evaluation." The bishop is quite right, of course, but the sorry history of Negotiation Now! deserves to be more fully told. I would like to offer a postscript on my original essay.

At its inception Negotiation Now! was to be a wide-ranging coalition which was to seek a negotiated settlement of the war in Vietnam. In retrospect, however, it is now clear that Negotiation Now! became a coalition seeking negotiation on *American* terms, had its position co-opted by the Johnson Administration and was in some measure responsible for the perpetuation of a myth; namely the continued existence of a divided Vietnam and support of the corrupt regime in Saigon. This was the Achilles heel of the campaign, as I pointed out in the contribution I made to the book under discussion. Accordingly, it is time to say, publicly, that Negotiation Now! departed from its original rationale because of a parochial provincialism on the part of those on the working staff who were unfortunately in a position of authority.

While I alluded to the behind-the-scenes acrimony directed against other peace groups in my contribution to *American Catholics and Vietnam*, the effort to destroy the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy (SANE) is an inherent part of the history of Negotiation Now! and should be publicly known.

In submitting her resignation to SANE, for example, the national coordinator of Negotiation Now! accused SANE's national Board of abandoning *its* original rationale and of refusing to criticize any group in the American peace coalition oriented to the left, as well as writing: "It is a tragedy in our political life today that SANE, the foremost organization within the American peace movement, should have become, at this crucial time in history, *at best impotent and irrelevant, and at worst a harmful influence . . .*" (italics added). SANE, incidentally, was one of the original sponsoring organizations which formed the Negotiation Now! coalition and assumed a major share of the financial responsibility for launching the campaign!

The unpalatable (and generally unknown) fact is that Negotiation Now! was subtly but effectively dominated by a small group of the national staff, some like-minded confreres from Northern California SANE and a few die-hard socialists in New York City. These people wanted to destroy SANE and they used the controversial activity of Dr. Benjamin Spock to attempt their coup. Fortunately, this small-mindedness

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Here is where the plan breaks down; for it assumes that those people least able to deal with complex city bureaucracies will come forward on their own. Welfare clients are already demoralized by their contacts with officials and systems—from police departments, to housing authorities, to City Hall. And welfare, as the Kerner Report points out, is among the least trusted of the inner-city services. New York plans to combat this through information campaigns, stuffers to welfare check mailings, and community contacts. The proposal is dubious, since success would swamp the centers with clients, and who will there be to deal with them?

Clients' groups say that services in the traditional sense are secondary anyway: money is the central fact about welfare. Bigger checks are needed so that clients can afford better food, adequate health care, decent housing. At the same time, general reform of education, housing programs, and the creation of meaningful jobs in urban areas must get going. In the meanwhile, the best half of services would be advocacy by caseworkers on behalf of clients who have specific needs. Tangential support for part of this analysis comes from New York's Commissioner of Social Services, Jack Goldberg, who has described welfare as a "wastebasket," absorbing the casualties of failure in other areas. The city's position has long been that it cannot adequately fund welfare, and that Washington should take over, as part of a massive work to reconstruct urban society.

Several years ago Richard Cloward, the Columbia-based urban sociologist, suggested that the only way to reform the welfare system was to bring it to its knees. Perhaps that is what is going on, unwittingly, in New York. The Albany legislation is now under review by federal attornies to see if it complies with guidelines that say welfare payments must reflect changes in the standard of living; other lawyers have raised the possibility of suits along these, or possibly constitutional lines. But no matter who wins, pressure is building. The number of poor people in the City continues to grow: some say 3 million New Yorkers on welfare is a distinct possibility by 1980.

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did not succeed, due, apparently, to the vigilance of Mr. Sanford Gottlieb, who, at the time, was SANE's political action director. He circulated a seven-page memorandum both in organizational circles within the Negotiation Now! coalition as well as to SANE chapters, pin-pointing the exclusionary and argumentative criticism directed against other peace efforts by staff members of Negotiation Now! and their allies. The result is that SANE is again vigorous, while Negotiation Now! is all but moribund.

Another tragic element in the rigid anti-Communist program of those seeking SANE's destruction was a political orientation which almost automatically *excluded* peace activists like the Berrigan brothers or groups like the Catholic Worker movement. They were "politically dangerous" and they were not solicited for their support. Even Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., who launched Negotiation Now! at a press conference in New York City, was eventually dropped from the list of sponsors because of his militancy!

Even the "planning conferences" for the campaign were so badly organized (purposely?) that it prompted one member of the Guiding Committee, the Very Rev. Victor R. Yanitelli, S.J., President of Saint Peter's College, to write to this author. " . . . I write to ask if it would be possible to give a little more thought to the scheduling . . . It is impossible . . . to re-arrange my calendar at the last moment in order to attend . . ."

Moreover, even the *National Catholic Reporter* did not escape sly censure. On October 25, 1967, *NCR* was characterized as a "leftist" newspaper, along with such publications as *The New Republic* and *The New Statesman*. Their crime? They printed articles reporting Pham Van Don's support of the Fall Mobilization of 1967 organized by David Dellinger, editor of *Liberation*. The *NCR* article was written by the Rev. Malcolm Boyd! The source of the sly censure? A memorandum written by a Jim Leonard on the stationery of the Center for War/Peace Studies, purporting to be an analysis of the solidarity meeting of numerous peace groups in Bratislava, Czechoslovakia, during the week of September 6-12, 1967. Leonard's memorandum was an outright attack on all American peace groups not in agreement with the politics of those controlling Negotiation Now! Maoists, for example, were coupled with Black Power advocates; the Communist Party, USA, was placed in juxtaposition to Women Strike for Peace! Neat.

This list of deliberate, exclusionary actions could be expanded (and will be in a forthcoming work). They are cited here in the hope that reflective Americans will see the tragedy in exclusionary efforts for peace dictated by a political orientation which sees America as doing no wrong on the world scene. The fact is that the United States is the aggressor in Vietnam and that Negotiation Now! with its developed program of doctrinaire and divisive politics has materially contributed to the polarization of the American peace movement. This is the tragedy implicit in Bishop Shannon's remarks. Negotiation Now! did have great potential in the struggle for peace in Vietnam. The potential was ruined by a small-mindedness in high places.

TOM RITT

(Tom Ritt was the East Coast Coordinator of Negotiation Now! Currently he hosts "Gather Round the Stake," a program on Pacifica Radio in Los Angeles.)

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The middle class has served notice it will not foot the bill, and is already tightening the screws. New York is the center of the nation's welfare problem. What happens here will indubitably effect the national welfare policy. At present it looks as if New York's welfare system, like Humpty-Dumpty, is tottering, and everybody knows what happened to him. WILLIAM SCHECHNER

(Freelance writer William Schechner was for several years an investigative reporter on the Bergen Record *and appears frequently in* Commonweal.*)*

Nkrumah's Gone; Ghana's Agony Remains

Independence for Ghana was meant to eliminate the excruciating, demoralizing and authoritarian nature of a colonial society and to give the indigenous masses freedom, dignity and justice. An assessment of post-colonial events shows Ghanaians have mixed feelings about their nation's new-found freedom. There are many who publicly admit that independence has been rather a curse and point an accusing finger at the once great Osayfeggo Nkrumah. Three years have passed since President Kwame Nkrumah was replaced by a military/police council. The military men who deposed him have eloquently argued that their interests were not protected by the old regime. They objected to Nkrumah's running the armed forces on familial-tribal preferences. They resented his blatant dismissals of army generals. They were not prepared for a Rhodesia campaign, which Nkrumah was planning without proper regard for army matériel. They also objected to corruption in high places, but ironically corruption infected their own ranks, forcing the resignation of their successor to Nkrumah, Joseph A. Ankrah, for accepting funds from private companies.

It is too early—even though 15 years have elapsed since Nkrumah succeeded British rule—to evaluate Nkrumah's national contribution. His hypnotic and mesmeric appeal to Ghanaians was operative as long as he held the reigns of government. The clamorous denunciation which followed his overthrow, however, testifies to the shallowness and unacceptability of the ideology he preached. The sudden emergence of tribalism on the national scene exposes Nkrumah's failure to weld a diverse people into a nation. The impassive and dispirited condition of his one-time choristers and the early attempts of many to jump on the bandwagon of his detractors indicate the level of allegiance he inspired.

Hopes for speedy national reconstruction which waxed high when the military/police junta took over the reigns of government have waned. Ghanaians were eager to accept not only the transitional but also the corrective nature of the new regime. There have been marked disappointments. The economy is far from being reconstructed even though the so-called experts have played a major role in the policy-making machinery. The army/police junta was sincere at the outset in admitting the ignorance of its members in governmental matters and they created numerous committees of experts to advise them on relevant matters. The continuous ruin that Ghana endures results from the inability of the "experts" to make wise decisions. The number of commissions set up to investigate the "deeds, misdeeds and omissions that caused the dramatic change of government" have been considerable, yet Ghana will still lack the proper infrastructure for a democratic society when the junta relinquishes its power. (The projected September 30, 1969 change-over date is not considered serious prophecy.) Meanwhile, the ruin of the country mounts.

Instead of Nkrumah's semi-illiterate ministers, Ghana now has the "expert" commissioners of equal incompetence. In place of Nkrumah's allocation of jobs to uneducated and semi-educated party faithful, the junta provides work for numerous lawyers, whose economic productivity is questionable. The traditional and obstructive nature of chieftancy, once suppressed by Nkrumah, has been restored. The renaissance of tribalism cannot be overemphasized. Instead of the former reliance upon the Communist block, the pendulum has swung to the West, and many Western companies have been partners to suspicious contracts, some of which have caused public uproars. At the same time, Ghana is borrowing profusely and diverting a major portion of the national budget to, in the generals' words, *"re-equip the entire army to justify its existence."*

The "President's Own Guard" has been abolished and the uncontested power of the army has been entrenched under the army/police junta. No Rhodesian encounter is contemplated, however. The once-dismissed generals have been reinstated and army promotions have been unprecedented. But the plight of the destitute Ghanaian masses in the villages remains unchanged from the colonial era. While the produce of the farmers rots in the rural areas because poor conditions prevent its being hauled to market centers, the ruling elite use devious means to import luxuries; amid this scandalous plenty the peasants hear only appeals to sacrifice and restraint. It is true that Nkrumah and a few of his henchmen were removed, but the bureaucratic apparatus has not been reformed and, as the Ankrah scandal revealed, malpractices continue with added sophistication. For example, while Nkrumah would crudely dismiss journalists for "subversive" activities, the junta chooses to close down a newspaper, supposedly for "lack of sufficient funds." Indeed it is hard to see any hope for Ghana. Its destiny is undefined, its leadership corrupt. AFRICANUS

(Africanus is a pseudonym for a citizen of Ghana who must remain anonymous.)

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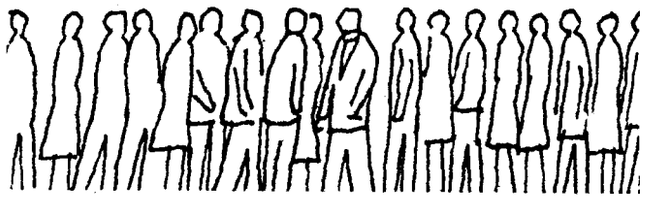

THE TIME OF THE FUGITIVE

Religious man: From ritual to self-discovery

CARLO A. WEBER

America today is in transition from a structure-oriented society, grown gargantuan and oppressive, to a new, and sometimes mysterious, person-oriented society. As a shadow of that larger and more comprehensive social transition, religious man finds himself moving away from comfortable rituals to confront the mysteries of the God-presence in new and different ways. He is burning his devotional bridges.

Roman Catholics, especially, long lived in an "ex opere operato" world. Knowing that the sacraments "worked," whatever the individual disposition, Catholics gradually extended the sacramental character to whatever else suggested itself: the nine first Fridays, or devotion to the Rosary, or the Infant of Prague, or St. Jude, or some such. Thus an almost endless litany of practices came gradually to enjoy a magical power of their own. With this arsenal at his disposal, it was much simpler for the Catholic to avoid the rather vexing task of taking personal responsibility for his own sanctity. He could readily divest himself of that responsibility by resting it upon ritual, or Church authorities, or even circumstances, happily labeled fate or, God forbid, Providence.

The whole question posed here, of man in transition, or even the rather narrower and more specific one of religious man in transition, is quite obviously too vast for a brief essay. As a priest-psychologist, I should like to turn whatever hyphenated expertise that may yield to just one aspect—the personal, subjective experience of the allegedly professional religious person, priest, sister, brother, who finds himself or herself in movement from a structured form of religious life to an unstructured, and, optimistically, more personal one.

What goes on in a person's private, experiential world, as he or she moves out of the structured religious life? This, too, of course, is largely a rhetorical question, because there simply is no single answer, or matrix of answers. Every inner experience is unique, intensely personal, and inaccessible. Experience is private. It is, as R.D. Laing describes it in the *Politics of Experience*, " . . . man's invisibility to man." No man can reach across to insert himself into another's experience. We can make only hesitant, feeble efforts to identify with another's inner world. With this caution, I should like to draw on a sample of religious persons whom I know reasonably well, and make some inferences or hypotheses, to be tested in empirical fire later on.

The sample I use is taken from the many priests who are disavowing organized religion in one way or another, from sisters leaving their religious communities, and from seminarians who are cutting off from the seminary. They constitute, as one could scarcely fail to notice, a large and growing sample. For hour upon hours I have listened to them express in many ways, in many languages, verbal and non-verbal, their loneliness, their anxiety, their fear of detaching themselves from a system that they perceive to be tottering. And I know that they are still obliged to see themselves, as judged by current standards, not so much as men and women in transition, but as men and women in flight.

There is still a strong aura of failure, or scandal, or disaster surrounding the individual who is making a new choice. He is still considered by many a defector, and often sees himself as such. Many may even be deterred from making such a choice because of their fear of be-

FATHER CARLO A. WEBER, S.J. *is assistant professor of Psychology and Director of Psychological Services at Loyola University of Los Angeles.*

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coming fugitives to others and themselves. In many cases this "defection" or "failure" may be the fact. But there is also the possibility that the abandoned system, rather than look honestly at itself, employs this tactic of defamation to protect and perpetuate itself.

Social institutions have quite effective defenses at their command. They may scorn the defector or officially excommunicate him, or ascribe rather prurient motives to his action, or knowingly refrain from comment, or possibly extend their hand in tyrannical kindness to their "fallen brother." And surely they must do so. Otherwise they acknowledge that just possibly the fallen brother or sister has, in fact, discovered something better, or is correct in his dissatisfaction with aspects of the system.

Religious man in transition is, therefore, cast in the role of the fugitive, even when he may feel profoundly convinced that he is, in point of fact, doing the right, the Christian thing. I listen to their painful recitation of the hypocrisies they see, the suppression they feel, the pettiness and triviality that occupies so many who are called by their vocation to be witnesses to a "greater love," and the injustice that passes under the language of "fraternal charity." I hear them, and to be sure, echoes in myself, of all this, and of the experience of the loss of bearings, of a vision, and the estrangement that follows. It is an estrangement that comes from finally permitting oneself to acknowledge that the system has become essentially a game. I hasten to add that by the system I mean here that collection of regulations, habits, behavior patterns, judgmental postures, etc. that have become identified with the organization of the Church and religious communities.

The tragedy experienced by the religious man in transition is that often enough he is choosing not to play the game; and in a society that places stock in playing the game well he is a failure. He must, therefore, be dealt with in some manner that will either effectively destroy him, or at best let him slip into anonymity. But the game must be allowed to go on, because we have in many instances come to the place where we can recognize nothing else but the game and how well it is played.

Whatever the objective social situation, the man in transition from one set of religious super-structures to other less confining ones feels the anxiety of disassociating himself from a game most people want to play, and indeed must play. He feels that the structure, in this case religious, originally evolved to protect a very religious experience, has grown to the point where it has become quite a good bit larger than the experience itself, and bids fair to submerge it. Thus, he must "split." But in doing so he still feels the anguish of being without a game to play for the nonce.

In addition to the fear of becoming a fugitive, and to the conflict *vis-à-vis* the system, there is a twin frustration in the personal experience of separation from a religious structure. The first is a task-imposed frustration experienced by those whose principal mode of establishing acceptability has been task-oriented. I believe this syndrome encompasses most of the religious persons I encounter. Their self-esteem, or value, or self-concept in the evaluative sense has been based on their ability to please or placate their environment by producing the behavior that will gain the approval of others significant to them. Society, from family to convent to seminary or religious community, has approved of them on condition that they perform the proper tasks, and most of the sample of religious with whom I work have been task-oriented. That does not mean they are necessarily task-performing. But they consider themselves failures if they do not acceptably perform some tasks, and successes only if they do. From their earliest years, personal acceptability has been framed in terms of producing the kind of job, or task, or function deemed satisfactory by authority figures. So, as children, they were approved if, for example, they were able to honor their parents by bringing home A's from school, or some such thing. Our generation was largely brought up in a system that generated the language of the favorite child and the black sheep.

Religious persons, of course, are inevitably cast in the role of the favorite child. This predicament has implications which might best be explored elsewhere. A nun I treated recently had precisely this experience (fitting the pattern of the task-oriented person rather well). She is a rich and gifted woman, the oldest daughter of an Irish family. Her father was a drunk, and as oldest daughter, she was expected to help support the family during her father's lost weeks and weekends, a task she performed effectively. When in time she felt she had exercised her duties sufficiently, and that her family had no further urgent need of her, she entered the convent. Once again, she performed according to expectation. Great things were in store for her. And indeed, as predicted, she was appointed superior of a rather large house before she was thirty, ten years after her entry into the community.

In her position as superior, she experienced for the first time in her life the anxiety of not being able to fulfill everyone's hopes. Knowing her competence, the Mother General decided to send to her house a generous sampling from her hamper of "problem sisters." This eventually proved too much for the young sister, and she felt the anguish of a sense of failure. She no longer could live up to her Superior's image, and quite inexplicably to them, she began to take to her room more and more frequently to cry away the passing time. Patently depressed, she was sent to my office. She had lived according to everyone else's gyroscope, but never according to her own. Forced at length to turn to herself for support, she was lost.

Many religious persons have been performing the "proper task" for years. But there comes a time when the tasks wear a bit thin, and when the series of goals established as a kind of reward-system become less rewarding and less reinforcing. Religious who disassociate themselves, as well as many who do not, have begun to take

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a second hard look at the reward-system, and have wondered whether it's really worth it. These sentiments, of course, are not restricted to religious. Think of the young man who has sacrificed a great deal of his personal integrity, vitality, and youth in order to secure a Ph.D., or an M.D., or some other credential because that's what society seemed to demand. And on that glorious day when he ascended the rostrum to accept the credential that officially announced that he was now 'qualified' to work on levels previously closed to him, though he had, in fact, no great sense of being more qualified than he was before he started, he came to feel profoundly sick. The reward-for-task-oriented system does break down; and when it does, there is little to fall back on.

For people who have followed a specifically religious vocation, there is a second frustration—the thwarting or failure to achieve a much more personalized goal. This is the plight too often of the priest who, while being accessible to virtually all people at all times, must also preserve an other-worldly, almost Infant of Prague demeanor, must never let his humanity slip out publicly from behind the cloak of priestly inhumanity. In his distant aloofness, he must continue, in Eugene Kennedy's words, to " . . . smile down innocently from a thousand mantlepieces." Such an unrealistic, non-Incarnational image of the priesthood corrodes with time. And with the dissolution of the image comes another sense of personal failure, the frustration of knowing that one did not attain the "ideal," and the ensuing and crippling sense of guilt.

In addition to these personal frustrations, there is yet another more social sort. Most religious in transition have come to feel terribly boxed-in by their structure. They do not say, as some would suggest, that structure is unnecessary for organized human existence. That would be absurd. They are simply stating that the structure in which they are obliged to live has grown larger than the experience it was intended to serve. This, surely, is not true of just the religious life. One need only think again of the political arena. Last November the Democrats and Republicans presented the people of the United States with what Walter Lippmann called "a dismal choice between Richard Nixon and Hubert Humphrey." This political situation has obvious analogies in religious life.

Structures arise out of the necessity to protect and sustain a vision, a vital experience. So religious communities, for example, legislated periods of communal silence because silence was known to be essential to the total recollected receptivity of the religious personnel to the whispering voice of God. Its purpose was clearly that we might say with truthfulness, "Speak, Lord, thy servant heareth." But with time, the legislated silence became an end in itself, and its mechanical observance no longer served the human experience it was designed to protect and encourage. One could now become a "holy man," not by reason of manifest receptivity to the whisper of God, but because of wooden observation of a structural device. Examples of such a phenomenon are legion.

Man in transition, therefore, wants to leave that kind of structure and move toward a restatement of the pre-eminent place of the person. This means he must secure for himself sufficient *lebensraum* in which to move, to feel less boxed-in. A proven conditioning process was effectively employed in seminary training, which was a highly closed environment until very recently. Within that environment, unquestioned ground rules applied; rituals perpetuated according to an elaborate and sequential system of reinforcement and reward.

Conformity, above all, was rewarded in the system. One thinks of the long black line, so highly reverenced at one time, of the suppression of "singularity," as it was pejoratively called, of the adoption of saints' names no matter how inappropriate—all practices only very recently renounced. Another such Procrustean device popped up in a community of sisters where every novice was obliged to change her handwriting in order to adjust it to the proper model. I am not aware if the originators of this practice were conscious of what effect a change in expressive behavior (of which handwriting is a type) can have in altering basic personality. They perhaps could not have chosen a more effective means of bending personality to fit some pre-conceived model. Last month I sat with a group of religious Superiors who were discussing with great seriousness the proper garb for their subjects. With a great burst of liberalism one of them announced he did not care what they all wore, just so long as they all wore the same thing. The tragedy is that this man was terribly genuine about this, and sincerely felt that he was permitting an almost revolutionary stride forward. Conformity has long been the name of the game.

On somewhat broader and more significant grounds, the religious in transition also finds himself party to a radical change in the locus of value-systems. This change, I believe, is at the root of much of the generation and/or credibility gap. The wider base of values is changing from a structure-oriented to a person-oriented system. In the former, one assumes the structure is good. Specific values then become a largely pragmatic means to secure the good of the structure. We assumed it was a good thing to be a Ph.D., a doctor, a lawyer, to serve the interests of established society. Our values, therefore, become simply utilitarian. By exercising this set of values we obtained the objectives proposed for ourselves within the framework of the system.

I do not suggest that this is evil. What I am suggesting here is that, for better or worse, the locus of values has shifted. Mental health criteria, for example, were long associated with the degree of one's adjustment to social norms. But what if the social norms are insane? Psychotherapists are gradually concluding that the norms of mental health may well be a kind of creative maladjustment. This in itself implies a very radical shift in the locus of values.

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The agony for anyone who chooses to break away from the umbilical security of his structure and dares to stand apart and wonder is that he must prepare himself for a period of aimless wandering. He must dig into himself and wrench out whatever reserve of personal security he possesses. This requires an enormous degree of faith—to believe in oneself as an individual, in one's integrity, and in the presence of God in oneself.

Such, indeed, was the case with the Sister whom I described earlier. With her previous reliance on the approval of her structure-system gone, she was frightfully lost. As a therapist, I had an agonizing choice to make. I could help her to rebuild her ego resources and her system of defenses. I could help her once again to live up to others' expectations, to function in her society, to succeed in it perhaps. Or I could stand alongside as she traveled through her own feeling of failure, hoping to assist her in letting her defenses fall away, revealing that curious and often agonizing mystery hidden within. Should I let her take that darkest of all journeys, when I well know that there is a risk that she might not come back? I think every therapist faces this decision at times. Does he assist in building up once again the staggering ego-forces to help the individual cope with society? Or does he break through the remaining and weakening defenses to open for the person the possibility of the painful discovery of who he or she really is behind the defenses?

In this situation, because I felt Sister to be rich in human resources, we went the latter route. For six months, we traveled downhill. She became more depressed, more anxious, more frightened. She wondered desperately what the outcome would be; and in time, her Superiors wondered as well. At this point, I could explain to no one precisely what was going on. We were riding on the sheer faith that this woman had the resources to go into the blackest reaches of her inner self and find her personal strength and power. It was impossible to content any of those properly concerned about her with explanations of the kind of personal journey she was on, and the degree to which she might have to go in order to experience the wondrous fact that she could, indeed, go there, and come out. To deprive her of that experience would have been tyrannical; to explain it to others, or even to her at that time was out of the question. Only those who have made the trip can know.

As she appeared to worsen, everyone associated could well ask what in heaven's name was happening. I began to receive telephone calls. Her major Superior sent her to an expensive private clinic for psychological consultation and examination. The clinic returned the perfectly appropriate diagnosis that she was seriously depressed and in danger of a psychotic episode with some dire warnings of consequences. Everyone was suggesting that she had best change therapists before she was ruined. She, too, was fearful, and losing confidence. In the face of all this social pressure, was the faith still strong enough to continue? It was perhaps too late to alter the course of the psychological journey she had started. I endured my own moments of panic. But, either because I no longer had the power to alter course, or because our faith held, we continued together through the blackest of tunnels. And she went through it. Quite unannounced, and without any preceding signs, she simply called one day, and softly said, "I've made it. I've been there; I know what it's like, and I'm O.K." No other comment was necessary. She had been there, had emerged whole, and now knew, not from reason, but from her anguished experience, that there could be nothing to fear. There *is* nothing to fear. However understood, this, as Laing comments, is . . . "the ultimate reassurance and the ultimate terror." To face nothing requires the most enormous faith.

Man in transition is faced with much of that uncertainty. Structures are changing. They must. And the change in the locus of values is so deep and so rapid that the lines are being drawn quite sharply between those who opt for structure and those who opt for the person. I think we can surrender the illusion that there will be some compromise beween the two choices. No one can seriously expect those who have identified themselves with a certain structure all their lives to change. At this point, we do not know whether the outcome will be the collapse of the structure, or the prospect of an "institutional" and a "charismatic" Church functioning parallel to one another, tolerating the other to exist.

In face of the fog, men are obliged to find power and security within. I believe there is a profoundly religious aspect to that discovery. We have paid much lip-service to the idea that we are made in the image and likeness of God. It is not clear that we have ever actually believed it. The faith now demanded of the man in transition means precisely the discovery of God within himself. The God-presence, as Bishop Robinson observes so well in *Honest to God,* is to be found not just on the mountain-top of the ancients, nor in the Temples, the new mountains, nor even just in other people, though surely He is in all those places as well. He is to be found most radically and essentially in ourselves. That must be the spiritual quest of the religious man in transition.

Already I have heard priests, not unsophisticated in the traditional ways of religion, comment enthusiastically after sensitivity sessions involving mostly fellow priests with whom they had never before really communicated, that " . . . that was the most religious experience I have ever had." One is forced to wonder what indeed was "religious" about it. No one spoke the "God-language"; no one performed ritualistic things. They had merely come closer to a discovery of each other and themselves in the process. And in doing so, they underscored the conviction, so much the moving force of the religious man in transition, that a man cannot genuinely discover God without discovering himself, nor can he genuinely discover himself without discovering God.

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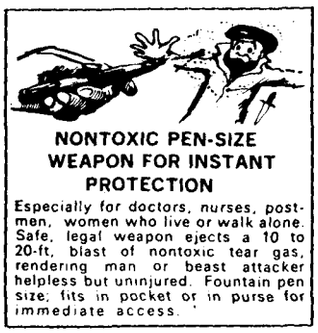
MACE FOR THE MASSES

JOSEPH A. PAGE



NONTOXIC PEN-SIZE WEAPON FOR INSTANT PROTECTION

Especially for doctors, nurses, postmen, women who live or walk alone. Safe, legal weapon ejects a 10 to 20-ft. blast of nontoxic tear gas, rendering man or beast attacker helpless but uninjured. Fountain pen size; fits in pocket or in purse for immediate access.

Mace and kin are going public in a big way. Trading on the present mood of fear in the U.S. and on the publicity given to the police use of chemical irritants, a number of companies—some of them fly-by-night outfits—are now offering for general sale aerosol sprays ranging from 6-inch, 70-shot canisters to cheap, lipstick-size weapons made in West Germany. Pretesting of the sprays has been perfunctory at best. Legal control over their manufacture, labeling and advertising has been inadequate. Most states have no laws governing their possession, sale and use. If, as some grimly predict, we are in the midst of a domestic arms race as a prelude to civil conflict, it seems clear that many potential participants are preparing themselves for chemical warfare.

Last August the *Wall Street Journal* reported that more than 250,000 *Preventors* have been sold at about $8 each by franchisers in 31 states. *The Preventor* is an aerosol liquid spray whose formula is virtually identical to that of Mace. Chemical Mace is the trade name of the most famous of the sprays. It contains liquid tear gas (chloroacetenophenone, or CN) and a kerosene-like substance which makes the spray stick. *The Preventor* is being distributed by a company formed by principals of the advertising agency of General Ordnance Equipment Corporation (GOEC), the manufacturer of Chemical Mace.

Sunny's, a Washington surplus store, is selling an aerosol CN tear gas spray called the *Deputy*. Its 6-inch canister is marked "Police Model." A salesman assured me, "That's Mace." In fact, it isn't. The *Deputy* is manufactured by Penguin Industries, which produces a line of self-defense weapons. In 1967 it failed to meet the specifications of the Phoenix police department. A test of the *Deputy* revealed that (1) its nozzle clogged, (2) its range was only 4 feet (as opposed to the 15-to-20-foot range claimed in the advertising brochure), (3) its container leaked, and (4) it didn't propel a stream!

Hagen Supply, an established tear gas distributor in St. Paul, has placed classified ads in recent issues of *Popular Science* and *Argosy*. The company's brochures include descriptions of the *Hagen Tear Gas Spray* in an aerosol container resembling a large lipstick.

Other pocket-size aerosol tear gas sprays have become standard items for public sale. Camalier & Buckley, a fashionable leather goods store in the District of Columbia, offers an inexpensive model. A shop at Dulles Airport outside Washington prominently displays these weapons for sale to visitors to the nation's capital.

Two sprays of unspecified chemical content have recently enjoyed heavy advertising in detective and men's magazines. The ad for *On Guard* discloses that it "fires a chemical at attackers, renders them helpless like a tear gas (sic), for at least 30 minutes." The second series of ads seeks salesmen for a combination spray-and-dye marker distributed by the Kristee Products Company of Akron, and called *The Defender of Women*. The brochure sent out to anyone answering the ad describes the product as "NOT A TEAR GAS. It is a liquid aerosol spray." The opinion of a Califor-

JOSEPH A. PAGE *is a member of the faculty at Georgetown University Law Center in Washington.*

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nia court several years ago upholding the conviction of a man caught illegally possessing a spray called *The Defender of Women* reveals that the weapon contains oleoresin capsicum, a pepper-like chemical irritating to the skin, but less effective than CN because it does not readily vaporize. Several other sprays use this chemical. This was the type of spray many Yeshiva students procured last year in the wake of a series of muggings near the university campus. This may also be what is in the Defender Extraordinary, a spray advertised as having "no gas chemicals" in recent issues of women's magazines. On the other hand, an ad in the *Cincinnati Enquirer* last spring for an aerosol spray called *The Defender* indicated that this was a CN tear gas weapon.

While most sprays contain either CN or oleoresin capsicum, the Maze Chemical and Manufacturing Company of St. Louis has developed an aerosol irritant containing chlorobenzylmalononitrile, or CS. This is the type of tear gas used by the Army (for tasks such as flushing Viet Cong out of tunnels). As a fog, powder or smoke, it is more potent than CN because it attacks the respiratory system. The only problem is that like oleoresin capsicum, it has a low vapor pressure and hence is ineffective in an aerosol spray. But no one would realize this from the claims made by the promotional literature put out by the Maze Company. And lest their point be lost, they have named their product the *Paralyzer*.

Last but not least, Chemical Mace itself is reaching the public. The Spy Shop, a store specializing in the sale of bugging and counter-bugging equipment in Washington, has offered Mace canisters marked "For Police Use Only" to customers showing an interest in *Shield 10-78*, a somewhat weaker chemical spray displayed in the window. (More recently the Shop has been pushing *Subdue*, a spray containing a highly concentrated form of CN.) Doctors in the D.C. area perusing their Christmas mail found invitations to order Chemical Mace from the Personal Security Division of GOEC. Nursing students working in the Washington ghetto areas have been furnished Mace. There have also been reports that the American Nazi Party is selling Mace to members through mail and telephone advertising.

Tear gas as a personal self-defense weapon has been on the market for several decades. Pistols and fountain pens which fired cartridges containing the gas have long been available to the public at a cost of several dollars. The new aerosol sprays eliminate the principal danger of the tear gas gun, the risk of eye injury from fragments of wadding when the weapon is discharged at close range. Mace and company disable their victims by causing an intense burning sensation (and sometimes second-degree burns) on contact with the spray or vapors released by the spray.

But the new weapons offer considerable hazards of their own. Doctors have warned that permanent damage can result from discharge into the eye at close range. Last May the U.S. Surgeon General cautioned of "the possibility of more than transient effects to the exposed individual unless treatment is prompt." There is some medical evidence that the sprays may be dangerous if used on persons with heart or asthmatic conditions. A recent study has revealed that one of the sprays, if inhaled in large concentrations, can cause permanent lung and kidney damage. Even the user of the spray may be risking danger. According to a report by the Bureau of Occupational Health of the California Department of Public Health, there were 22 injuries in 1967 to law officers and one to a fireman caused by exposure to Mace. Yet advertising for the sprays and their labels stress the fact that any effects

First in the Eyes of Their Countrymen

Pittsburgh

To the Editors: This correspondence is in reference to "Yes, We Have No Bananas" [Jan. 17].

We sincerely appreciate your mention of our products, but we wish to advise that "CHEMICAL MACE®" and "MACE" are the Trademarks of General Ordnance Equipment Corporation, for its non-lethal weapons and liquid contained therein. "CHEMICAL MACE®" is covered by Registration Number 823,563 issued on February 2, 1967.

You are undoubtedly aware that if our Trademarks, "CHEMICAL MACE®" and "MACE" come into wide use as generic terms we might lose our Trademark rights to them, and we are sure you will want to assist us in preventing this.

Also, we would like to advise that "PEPPER FOG" is a Trademark of General Ordnance Equipment Corporation for its line of thermal aerosol tear smoke generators, and other Trademarks of General Ordnance Equipment Corporation include "CHEMICAL BATON" and "CS-MACE."

In order to protect our rights, we would respectfully request that whenever the above Trademarks are used in any publication to describe any of our non-lethal police weapons they be treated as Trademarks, fully capitalized and, if possible, placed in quotation marks.

May we extend our thanks for your cooperation in this matter.

JOHN A. CAMPBELL
President
General Ordnance Equipment Corporation
"First in non-lethal weaponry through technology"

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are temporary and supposed to be harmless.

Another misleading aspect of most of the ads is their tendency to promote a false sense of security. A number of blurbs, for example, boast that the sprays can repel rioters or gangs of attackers. This is sheer and potentially dangerous nonsense. No policeman in his right mind would rely on a spray under those circumstances. Psychiatrists have observed that chemical irritants often tend to be escalators rather than pacifiers, in that they frustrate, enrage and humiliate certain types of victim and cause them to become even more belligerent. It is not difficult to imagine what might happen to an individual rash enough to test his spray on a hostile crowd.

Indeed, there is even evidence that chemical sprays may not be effective in some one-on-one situations. Drunks, dope addicts, lunatics and even persons in a high state of emotional excitement may under certain conditions shrug off a stream of spray and proceed with the business at hand. (In this regard it is interesting to note reports that some women seeking "more bang for their buck" arm themselves with hair spray.)

The cost of the chemicals which go into the sprays is minimal, suggesting that the manufacturers and distributors are out for a quick kill. The *Wall Street Journal* has quoted a vice-president of Defensive Instruments, the distributor of *The Preventor,* on business prospects. "I expect to get very rich." The brochure for *The Defense of Women* speaks of "the biggest profit bonanza we've seen in years!"

Control over the manufacture and sale of the sprays is spotty at best. The Spy Shop provides one example of self-restraint. A salesman told me, "We don't sell to hippies." In a recent article in the *Washington Post,* Nicholas von Hoffman reported that the Spy Shop's owner allowed as how he sold sprays to a "little colored lady," but added, "We don't discriminate per se, but you let an African come in here with a voodoo shirt and a voodoo haircut and we tell 'em to take off."

On the state level there seems to be no quality control over the manufacture of the sprays. The federal Food and Drug Administration enforces the Hazardous Substance Act, which covers household products and requires proper labeling. The FDA has taken some action against some of the sprays, but won't divulge details. The problem is that unlike federal regulations for drugs, which put upon the manufacturer the burden of providing that his product is safe and efficacious before it can be marketed; the rules for labeling household products require the government to establish that a product is ultrahazardous or mislabeled before action can be taken. The DA points to a shortage of funds and manpower as drawbacks to more vigorous enforcement. The Federal Trade Commission has authority to take action against deceptive advertising, and perhaps could be persuaded to look at the irresponsible claims being made for the sprays. (The FTC recently proposed rules requiring manufacturers to disclose the possible lethal effects of inhaling aerosol sprays sold for the purpose of frosting cocktail glasses.)

Some states have laws specifically controlling the possession and sale of tear gas. In Arkansas, California, Hawaii, Michigan, Nevada, North Carolina and Wisconsin, these laws seem broad enough to regulate aerosol sprays. Other laws are too narrow. For example, in Iowa, Kansas, Vermont and Washington, only tear gas bombs are prohibited. The South Carolina and Tennessee statutes apply only to tear gas guns. Pennsylvania forbids only the use of tear gas against persons involved in labor disputes. A number of states have laws regulating the possession of deadly or concealed weapons. Many of these laws have been interpreted by drawing a distinction between tear gas guns which can also fire live ammunition and tear gas weapons which discharge only gas or spray. The latter are considered legal.

The Indiana senate recently rejected by an 11-34 vote a bill to prohibit possession of chemical sprays by the public. Senator John J. Frick of South Bend, sponsor of the bill, argued that the sprays might fall into the hands of robbers, rapists, rioters and child molesters. Opponents of the bill answered that they would prefer to have their wives face attackers armed with Mace than with pistols or knives.

The senators expressing this preference should take comfort in the fact that their vision has already come to pass. A police reporter in Columbus, Ohio, told me that in the past year no less than a dozen muggings and armed robberies in his city have been carried out with the use of aerosol tear gas sprays. Perpetrators of three recent robberies in eastern Maryland and one in Delaware have sprayed their victims with chemical irritants. Criminals have put sprays to work in robberies of a tavern in New York City, a bank in Washington and a bus in Chicago.

And finally, this note from the most recent issue of *Rolling Stones*: "Two dapper hold-up men phoned to make an appointment to see $35,000 worth of diamond rings and earrings at a Los Angeles jewelry store, arrived on time, inspected the merchandise, found it worthy, whipped out a can of Mace, sprayed the store's proprietors up and down, and disappeared with the goods long before the police—who said the store manager would eventually recover from his eye irritation, nausea, skin burns and dizziness—arrived. The police were armed with Mace."

We seem to be at the dawn of a new era of humane criminal behavior.

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Commonweal this Spring

As a weekly journal of opinion, Commonweal scrutinizes with interest renewed public sentiment for withdrawal from Vietnam and the substantial opposition to Congressional approval of the ABM system. It relates all this to the war against hunger and poverty in this country and to the vast human need in Latin America and the Third World generally. And, as a lay-edited journal of forty-five years standing, it is in a unique position to interpret the current turmoil and changes in the Church.

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SKIN FLICS

THE SCREEN

This week we have a couple of weirdies to consider, and the less far out of them is "The Illustrated Man," in which Rod Steiger plays one of the most unpleasant characters ever to turn up in a movie. Steiger plays him well, at his most belligerent best in fact. When a young hitchhiker (sensitively portrayed by Robert Drivas) meets up with this man in some very attractive hill country in the '30s, the man not only bullies the lad mentally and forces him to see and hear his tales but also is so distasteful to look at. The skin of his entire body, except for the left shoulder, is covered with tattoos. Rod shows the young fellow a picture of a house and says he plans to kill the woman who lives there, a woman who does skin illustrations and seduced him into allowing her to apply her art on him. This woman, beautifully and coldly played by Claire Bloom, is indeed a mystery character and could be someone dreamed up by Charles Addams.

She was dreamed up by science-fiction writer Ray Bradbury; and while the screenplay, written by Howard B. Kreitsek from Bradbury stories, is interesting enough, the film as a whole is so diffuse that you wonder afterward what the heck it was all about. Steiger makes the boy look at the pictures on his body and pushes him into visualizing the tales which they illustrate. All three of these tales are set in the future and involve Steiger and Bloom as characters. The first one is fascinating and tells about ultra-modern parents whose children have a fanciful toy that allows them to play in any place in any period; how these evil kids do their parents in is blood curdling. The second tale about four astronauts and a sun goddess is of no consequence, but the third, again about parents, this time at the end of the world when they have been told by the World Forum to kill their children so that they won't have to suffer through this dreadful period, is a real chiller.

Jack Smight, who directed "The Illustrated Man," holds us spellbound at times but at other times he gets so far from the reality that must be present even in fantasy that his picture becomes dull and pointless. I don't expect a movie to have everything made crystal clear ("2001," "If . . ." and the forthcoming "Teorema" succeed in spite of ambiguity), but "The Illustrated Man" gets so pretentious in its attempt at allegory and is such a handsomely made picture that one expects more in the way of explanation than Claire Bloom's summary at the finale: "Each person who tries to see beyond his own time must face questions for which there are no absolute answers."

Even further out and more senseless is "Can Heir-

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onymous Merkin Ever Forget Mercy Humppe and Find True Happiness?" The blame for this mess, which, in spite of a fairly good cast is practically a one-man picture, falls on Anthony Newley. He produced, directed, wrote the screenplay (with Herman Raucher), composed the music, and stars in it. Newley is a pretty good actor and he has a pleasant singing and dancing style. What he doesn't have is taste, and in this film he seems to be out to prove the point. Set mainly on a beach, where song-and-dance man Heironymous is showing a film depicting his life's story to his mother and two little kids, the picture itself is jammed with nudes and semi-nudes, off-color wisecracks, humorous sexy scenes showing Heironymous chasing girls, and a plethora of *doubles entendres* mostly in character names like those in the title. At times, Newley is doing some other rather clever take-offs on other movies and other actors. And the beach setting would suggest he's trying to kid Fellini's "8½." He should have called his picture "2½."

PHILIP T. HARTUNG

BOOKS

Have the vote and the pill really changed the woman's lot?

Up From the Pedestal

EDIT. AILEEN S. KRADITOR

Quadrangle, $8.95

Thinking About Women

MARY ELLMANN

Harcourt, $4.95

SIDNEY CALLAHAN

Any good grievance gets attention, but wrongs done to women are irresistible. How can you turn away from such an interesting half of the human race suffering behind "a silken curtain of prejudice?" Feminists and feminist literature can have instant appeal to both men and women. Why both?

Well, women can read Aileen Kraditor's *Up From The Pedestal* or Mary Ellmann's *Thinking About Women* and seethe with indignation. Did men ever say such things about women? Miss Kraditor's selections of significant writings from the history of feminism document the fact that from Anne Bradstreet (1642) to NOW (National Organization for Women) it's been a rocky uphill road to mini-equality. Those men of yesteryear *meant* to keep women down, and women reading past tirades and the gloomy statistics of today's discriminations can feel the exhilarating wrath of the oppressed (a feeling hard come by in affluent middleclassdom).

Men, on the other hand, can read these books and those like them and have the even more luxurious indulgence of seeing themselves as bona fide oppressors. Good God have we really been so guilty? Yes . . . well surely today with the vote and the pill things are different.

Unfortunately, things are not different, and it is the accomplishment of Mary Ellmann's book to show why they never will be until our imagery and imagination change. Beneath the economic and civil equality problem lies a quagmire of sexual stereotypes and sexual analogies which corrupt the imagination and will to change. The basic pattern of these analogies consists in seeing the male as the human norm with females considered as different and defined in relation to men. Women are better, worse, or complementary to men (depending upon the person doing the defining). Like Negroes and children, women have been burdened with stereotypes which imply subhumanity and lack of individual differences.

The fact that certain of the stereotypes commonly applied are self-contradictory is typical of their general irrationality. Women are supposed to be more material *and* more spiritual and pious. They are supposedly passive, unstable, irrational, compliant, formless, yet as shrew, witch and Supermom destructive and dangerous to males. Mrs. Ellmann gives hilarious examples of men criticizing women for being both too feminine and bitchily aggressive. Women writers arouse the critic's hostility if the work "does not conform to sexual preconception. That is, if feminine concerns can be found, they are conventionally rebuked; but their absence is shocking." Women in all of their manifestations are supposed to be material, the heart of the world, conserving caretakers of the culture, Being, with a capital B.

How did such sexual analogies get started? Mrs. Ellmann sees it all beginning in a vague loose-minded leap from physiology to personality. Pseudoscientific classifying by means of association gives us womb-like receptive feminine minds and penetrating male minds. Birth and creation are akin but mutually exclusive. Women create through childbirth and men create through mental activity. Sperm are seen as mobile and creative (he has a seminal mind) while ova are supposedly immobile and placid. I hope Mrs. Ellmann has exorcised this imagery forever by her counter-attack: "In actuality, each month the ovum undertakes an extraordinary expedition from the ovary through the Fallopian tubes to the uteus, an unseen equivalent of going down the Mississippi on a raft or over Niagara Falls in a barrel. Ordinarily too, the ovum travels singly, like Lewis *or* Clark, in the kind of existential loneliness which Norman Mailer usually admires. One might say that the activity of ova involves a daring and independence ab-

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sent, in fact, from the activity of spermatozoa, which move in jostling masses, swarming out on signal like a crowd of commuters from the 5:15."

Norman Mailer is justly singled out as a particular victim of the fuzzy thinking that accompanies loose sexual analogy. He represents the sad capitalistic view of sex as aggressively productive of virility or creativity—a man has to carefully ration his resources. Women as empty domestic vessels with no active resources of their own are dangerously draining.

To the male other prevalent but irrational sexual analogies involve men's greater stature and the authority this gives them: "The subliminal assumption is that from weight must come weight: men's shoes alone seem a promise of truth." When deep voices and evasive men's clothing is added, no wonder we end up with a masculine style of assuming pompous authority. Happily, the grave Germanic graduate school style does not fit our anarchical times, and Mrs. Ellmann sees the rise of wit and women in writing. When "the full tone of authority seems prolix or monotonous or exhausted," the private personal voice is accepted, and with it, women.

At this point in her argument Mrs. Ellmann and I part company. She analyzes the feminine experience in negative, manichean terms. The body is seen as the "container" of self; "self" and "body" are seen at odds. Women "carry" their breasts about; pregnancy is a monstrous weight, old age a sagging of chins, breasts, and belly. Childbirth is something the container does. Finally, Mary Ellmann goes too far; in rightfully rejecting physiological definition of man she has rejected the body as either meaningless or grotesque. But this is a minor irritant; the gnosticism lurking about the edges is a small price to pay for the subtlety of the analysis. The sexual silliness which warps our thinking about women has never been so well exposed. But the best and most fervent accolade last: Mary Ellmann has written a funny feminist book. She most admires elegant comedy and she has produced the same. I laughed from beginning to end *while* feeling indignant and oppressed. Question: Does the possibility of such humor imply the imminence or impossibility of women's emancipation?

The Complete Poems

RANDALL JARRELL

Farrar, Straus & Giroux

ROSEMARY F. DEEN

Randall Jarrell is something of a scandal to Modern poetry. One of the first generation of post-Pound/Eliot poets—the generation of Lowell, Berryman, Shapiro, Roethke—Jarrell turned away at once from Eliot's prescription for poets. Thinking of Donne, Eliot announced that the poet of our time must become "more indirect in order to force, to dislocate if necessary, language into his meaning." But Jarrell instead located himself firmly in the tradition of Wordsworth. He objected that the Modern tradition underemphasized "organization, logic, narrative, generalization." In an age still trying to bring the richness of poetry to stories, Jarrell brought story and characters back into poetry. His *Complete Poems* show why he avoided the poetry of witty metaphor and chose the poetry of what Austin Warren calls "public" symbolism. Poetry gains excitement and intensity from the concentrating energy of metaphor, but the process of narrowing focus also "dislocates" a good deal of ordinary life: there is one subject in Donne's poetry, love; and in Eliot's poetry one character, Eliot.

Jarrell's wider focus gets in humor as well as wit. His poetry has a rich range, from quiet jokes: the piano played "with real feeling,/ The feeling of being indoors practicing"; and epigram: *"You can't break eggs without making an omelette/*—That's what they tell the eggs"; irony about wars almost too big to attack: "if we died/ It was . . . a mistake/ (But an easy one for anyone to make)"; to the double and triple take: "the ignorant countries where civilians die/ Inefficiently, in their spare time, for nothing . . ."

Poets like Jarrell get attacked from the side of the Ancients too. I remember one critic complaining that poetry today isn't rememberable, like Shakespeare or Pope, and challenging me to remember off-hand any of Stevens. Would I have dared to reply, "Infant, it is enough in life/ To speak of what you see. But wait/ Until sight wakens the sleepy eye/ And pierces the physical fix of things"? Our poetry is not rememberable like Pope's. It has not the grand periods which appear to guarantee its authority of statement. Jarrell's statements seem ordinary, but what *sounds* through 500 pages of text is a varied, rich and satisfying rhythm, running on a base line clear and light that yet sustains complex and effortless interior patterns of rime, refrain, repetition and beautifully spaced-out pauses. It moves like good conversation in flow and pause, bunched clauses, sentences gathering to completion until one poises and "thinks" its way into a new sentence. It is the rhythm of the wakened eye.

What that eye saw was change and judgment, Jarrell's great themes. In his poems, change is inexplicable (perhaps that is the root of their short tolerance for metaphor), but imperative. Jarrell looks for the source of change in the primary forms of things—things in their first elements—and found these elements in children's lives and in *Märchen*, their dreams. In *Märchen* change is gain or loss: lost Hänsels find home and father; poor woodchoppers find gold. But the gnome's gold fades when you bring it home—and home itself is no longer there. "We learn from you to understand," the speaker cries to the books in "The Carnegie Library," "but not to change." In our lives we only exchange, bargain to give up aggression ("to rule") for understanding. Jar-

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REVIEWERS

SIDNEY CALLAHAN is the author of *The Illusion of Eve, Beyond Birth Control* and a forthcoming book, *Women, Work and Children*, to be published by Sheed & Ward.

ROSEMARY DEEN teaches in the School of General Studies at Queens College.

RICHARD HOWARD is editing a volume of Rosa Luxemburg's writings.

EDMUND J. EGAN is assistant Professor of Philosophy at Loyola University, Montreal.

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rell has changed now into *The Complete Poems* of Randall Jarrell—changed into himself at last. Our naive, participating, child-self changes gradually into the made, the conscious, adult-self, gaining identity by losing immediate life. We all struggle both against and with this process. Jarrell's theme is great because he dramatizes the way we sustain this struggle.

Yet Rilke's antique head tells us, "You must change your life." To listen to art, then, is to lie continually under judgment. Jarrell knew what Judgment meant; there is widespread agreement about his critical genius. Judgment is a clear way of looking at things that decides hard cases without making the decision an accusation of sin. His ideas about human behavior are never as strict as the judgment he lays on himself in his dream of art. He can see that the pilots who bombed Europe are "murderers," but also that they are boys who "play like puppies with their puppy." R. W. Flint says about his war poems that there was no other poet "who came within shouting distance of Jarrell." The point about these poems for this review is how distinctly Jarrel saw the war. He saw how it abstracted life, turning men into large numbers ("you are something there are millions of"), and then into "noughts"; how it bred lies even into the language: one of the best poems is about how dying was never *dying*, but *accident*, *mistake*, *casualties*, or *losses*. The soldier never owned his own death. But most of all, he saw how war focuses, intensifies and narrows life into "one over-mastering demand: *Live!*" But then human life in its quiet variety, its "dailiness," escapes men, spills over and animates *things*, so that engines seem to sleep, the sea dreams, carriers are tender, bombers are frightened and helpless. But soldiers are as hard to distinguish as snowflakes—except under the microscope, of course, where "each one is individual."

One of Jarrell's best poems, "Nestus Gurley," is about judgment and resurrection. Nestus is the Jarrell's paper boy, who comes each day before the morning star and before the evening star. To the man waking in the house, he is often a "soft quick step/ The sound half song, half breath." Expanded to a tune, that breath is the Dorian mode of Orion, the hunter, "wheeling . . . All space and stars in cater-cornered heaven." In one of Jarrell's soft quick steps, then, the child's game of cater (*quatre*) corner becomes the four-cornered heaven of the Apocalypse, and the boy Nestus delivers:

> the Morning *News*, the Evening *Record*
> Of what I have done and what I have not done
> Set down against me in the Book
> Of Death, on paper yellowing

The paper records a judgment of the world too, with its bombers heading over the Pole, with its newspaper hats folded for the Napoleons "Of our days and institutions, weaving/ Baskets, being bathed, receiving/ Electric shocks . . ." Against such frightening dreams, the dreamer wakes to think of tokens of hope—qualified though they are: a star-shaped candle, "not lit yet," with its "flame-proofed paper pompom," and the sweetened bun "we brought home from the love feast, still not eaten." In such straits, a man prays that when he lies in the darkness of the grave "that is not lit by anything/ Except our hope: the hope/ That is not proofed against anything," he may wake to recognize the approaching step or breath on the morning of the last Judgment: "recognizing the breath,/ May I say, 'It is Nestus Gurley.'" It is a hope, defined throughout a considerable body of poetry, of recognizing the breath or spirit of judgment as human and familiar.

Beyond Economics

KENNETH E. BOULDING

University of Michigan Press, $9.50

DICK HOWARD

The first of this collection of Professor Boulding's essays written during the past 20 years, is called "Is Economics Necessary?" The answer, a resounding YES!, echoes throughout the rest of the book to the point where one is tempted to speak of an economic *hubris*.

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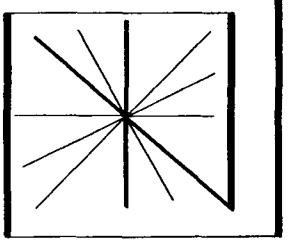

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Professor Boulding sees economics as a "generalized theory of choice." The study of prices is "a theory of value." The task to be accomplished is to investigate the "contribution which methods of economics may be able to make to other fields." Economics becomes that Queen of the Sciences of which Kant spoke—though professor Boulding does call Christianity to his aid, in aruging that it will restore the "lost economic gospel."

Probably everyone remembers his freshman economics course in which he learned to play the game of marginal utility. Professor Boulding extends the notion to things which are not strictly "economic" in the narrow sense of the word. This extension of the object of economic method is obviously the source of the book's title. Marginal utility can thus be applied to the choice between, for example, the financial advantage of investing in Dow Chemical stocks and the moral "loss" that comes with napalm-earned profits. I could use the notion to ask myself whether it is to my "advantage" to exercise my free speech in the streets or by writing a letter to my local congressman. I suppose I could even ask myself whether it is to my "advantage" to defecate at time t1 or time t2.

Economic rationality and economic morality seem to reduce all problems to a statistical game. Professor Boulding assures us that it is false and unfair to treat the considerations of the marginal economist as grossly "materialistic." Wicksteed's *Common Sense of Political Economy,* written in the second half of the 19th century, argues Boulding, already shows that "economics is a general theory of choice under conditions of limited resources."

The claim rings hollow. Boulding's work is at its most interesting when it attempts to deal with notions in the natural sciences in terms of economic concepts. The game of analogies generally has a nefarious effect on the growth of exact science, as anyone who has read 17th or 18th century treatises on electricity, for example, well knows. Besides the fact that analogies in the "exact sciences" usually conceal more than they reveal, Professor Boulding's economic rationality suffers from another error which is by no means untypical of American social science: He universalizes the capitalist system, seeing it as existing eternally in the past and in the future, and making its categories applicable to all situations.

Some examples of this tactic will illustrate the way in which the "beyond" of economics remains still trapped within the old circle. Boulding suggests to the biologists that they "will have to look for a variable akin to profit at the level of the cell if they are fully to understand the phenomenon of functional substitution and regeneration." Later we learn that we can understand consumption as "entropy" and production as "anti-entropic." Two essays teach us that the growth of knowledge must be understood analogously to the growth of capital, for knowledge is simply a "commodity" subject to economic laws like any other. We read that "Ethical behavior, however, is not essentially different from economic behavior, for ethical behavior involves choice among selections according to some value ordering," and one page later we are told that we can understand the Church as a "firm": "It produces a spiritual rather than a material product . . . " Finally we learn that we can understand the installation of a traffic light in economic terms, for "The traffic light creates property," which can then be exchanged, etc.

These examples should give a sufficient picture of the *hubris* of the economist who finds economic rationality wherever he looks. It is important to realize that this kind of rationality is neither eternal nor universal, but only a product of a certain form of society (capitalism) which is by no means eternal nor rational.

Professor Boulding is sharply critical of various aspects of our society, such as conscription, the defense budget, the threat of nuclear disaster, and especially the misallocation of resources which neglects the social sciences. His criticisms rejoin the much sharper ones made by Professor J. K. Galbraith in *The New Industrial State*. What is more, they suffer from the same flaws as those of Galbraith: when capitalism and its rationality are taken as eternal and universal all criticism is internal and amounts only to smoothing off the rough edges of the system, a curing of the visible tumors. Professor Boulding would no doubt agree with his colleague in seeing the "Scientific and Educational Estate" as the force which can apply the sandpaper or the plastic surgery.

Yet, things don't seem to happen that way in the real world. Boulding takes as an example of the necessity for freedom in the capitalist system the integration movement in the early 1960's. He feels that it was because the South was suffering economically that civil rights were finally granted. He argues that "social justice" can exist only in rich, advanced countries. His argument here is implicitly predicated on the economic rationality to which I am here taking exception. The values of the economist, and of his economic man whether he be "materialist" or "ethical," are the values of the middle classes; it is only the well-to-do who really have the freedom to choose among a market basket of "goods." The choice of the majority of men in the world today is not the "free" choice of economic man but is rather a choice restricted by stark necessity.

It was this naked necessity of the disprivileged which *forced* integration in the American South, just as it is this necessity which led to the just and triumphing revolution in Vietnam. Boulding argues, under the heading, "The Lost Economic Gospel," that "In the process of the individual's becoming richer, society also becomes richer." In abstract economic terms. this statement is tautologous. In the real world, it is patently false! It is only economic *mystification,* the mystification of a hollow "rationality" which makes this claim in order to justify—whether consciously or not—the wealth of a *few* individuals.

Professor Boulding's reaction to Marx's economics is uniformly negative. He does quote many times approvingly Friedrich Engels' dictum concerning the "leap from necessity to freedom." Under capitalism, however, that leap is

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made only by a small number, and on the backs of the many. The economic structures of our society are weak and contradictory in all the ways which the Bouldings, Galbraiths and their liberal ilk suggest. But these structures will not be changed because they offend the "rationality" of a liberal technocracy: just as integration came to the South and as freedom is coming to the Vietnamese, the irrationality of capitalism will be changed only as a result of *conscious action* by those who suffer from this irrationality. Freedom is not *given;* freedom is *taken*!

Professor Boulding's book should be read for the same reasons that Galbraith's *The New Industrial State* commands our attention: If we want true human freedom we must first escape from the narrow "rationality" of the capitalist economist and from the categories which he foists on us as being "universal" and "eternal."

The Morality Gap

PAUL HANLY FURFEY

Macmillan, $4.95

EDMUND J. EGAN

Paul Hanly Furfey has been grouped with Dom Virgil Michel, Peter Maurin and Dorothy Day as a major force in the "Christian personalist" or "Catholic radical" ferment of the 1930's in the U.S. What has characterized Christian personalism from the 30's through the 60's is what also informs the argument of Furfey's present book—a straightforward affirmation of Jesus' ethic as the law of Christian life.

The "Morality Gap" of the title is that between the Gospel ethic which Furfey (a little heavily) labels "The Authentic Code," and bourgeois mores—the "Popular Code". Gospel ethic is expressed in the imperative form of the verb "to love", which *cannot* admit the adverb "enough." The popular code, or mores, has been virtually a structured meditation on the theme of "enough," or the ideal of the morally sufficient.

For professed Christians to ignore the law of love and seek an ethic of sufficiency, they must focus moral vision upon clearly formulated *sins*, the avoidance of which, as Furfey points out, comes to be the means of salvation. Such negativism is not merely spiritually jejune—it is pernicious. Furfey: "(Such a man's) interpretation of the Christian ethic is such that it does not logically oblige him to take positive action, for example, to agitate for an open-housing law, to fight for equal rights for women, or to encourage the desegration of the school system."

An irony which emerges from Furfey's presentation is that the pseudo-Christian code of mores fails not only before positive tasks. It is equally deficient in fostering that holy nay-saying which is essential to true Christian morality. For *mores* by definition are an expression of the dominant values of the culture, and hence support the interests of the power structure, the continuance of the *Status quo*, and the muting of the prophetic and revolutionary Christian message. Even within the idiom of sin and sins, as Furfey points out, the bad sins are those most popular among the poor; the little white sins (perhaps imperfections or faults?) turn out to be those more typically found among the higher social classes (e.g. the "white-collar crime").

This continuing capitulation to *mores*, this infidelity to the patent emphasis of the Gospel ethic, ought to astound. Furfey's astonishment and gentle indignation are focused upon three well-known modern moral defections in which the Catholic Church was implicated, and implicated specifically by a failure to say *no* to evil. They are American Negro slavery (Jesuits and Dominicans, Carmelites and Ursulines, owned slaves), Hitler's war, and American use of obliteration bombing against Germany and Japan. Furfey shares the contemporary awareness of how complex and difficult the positive implementation of Christian good will can be. But in each of *these* instances, an evident and massive moral evil was involved, and in each instance the Church failed to be Christian.

The faithful at large actively and passively cooperated in the evil; the Catholic leaders, signally the bishops, contributed their silence when not actively en-

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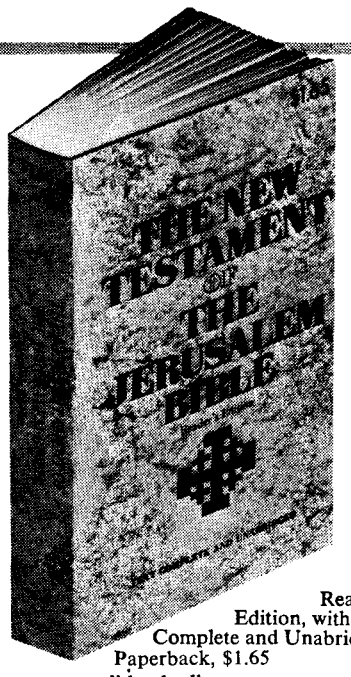

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couraging the injustice and the carnage. It should be made clear here that no weighty or contentious moral problem is involved—while Furfey obviously doesn't like war, for example, he is not dealing with pacifism, or with the larger problem of moral absolutes. He has deliberately chosen three moments which are historically writ large, and in which the overall response of the Church was morally indefensible.

A few simple points emerge from this data: 1. Catholics have tended to be ignorant, in general, of the clear thrust of Gospel ethic. 2. They are not well disposed to say "no" to evil which has substantial social sanction. 3. Christian ethical doctrine which in a given situation might be subversive of the social *status quo* is liable not to be taught by the institutional Church. In all of this there is no great problem about the actions of the majority of Catholics; they have been badly taught. What, however, is to be said of the teachers, and of the intellectual and psychological structuration of the teaching?

At this important point Furfey's book becomes less than adequate. It seems that in his admirable moral astonishment he is content intellectually to remain astonished; he seems to restrict his argument to the statement that the state of affairs should not be as it is. He does include a rather poor section listing standard mechanisms of self-deception, but this is hardly equal to the discussion of such massive defection from Christian morality as Furfey records. If it be objected that a depth analysis was not the purpose of this slight volume, the uncomfortable fact remains that failure to push the question "why?" easily leads to a mystification, a paradoxically safe solution. Evil has been unmasked and called by its name—*in our relief* may we not be tempted to eschew further probing which could yield deeper (and perhaps more disturbing) understanding? Furfey: "It is hard to see how Catholics could be so morally blind as to buy slaves."—"How were the chaplains able to stand aside without protest (against) murder on such a gigantic scale?"—"It seems incredible that the bishops could give their blessing so explicitly to Hitler's aggressive war." It is not, unhappily, incredible. It happened.

Furfey's discussion of positive aspects of Christian commitment is better. He pays intelligent tribute to the witness of the Berrigans and their associates, and sensitively treats the question of the specifically Christian dimension of the struggle for social justice. It is especially gratifying that in discussing those associated with the Catholic Worker, Furfey allows that they are not saintly simpletons sent by Providence to give intelligent liberals salutary moments of bad conscience, but rather an avant-garde company of the theologically correct. In all, *The Morality Gap* is good Christian rhetoric; it tells the truth forcefully. That the truth is morally hard, or intellectually easy, or that the understanding of untruth demands genius, ought not lead us to evade the truth itself. Furfey's book, granted its several real weaknesses, makes such moral evasion a bit more difficult.

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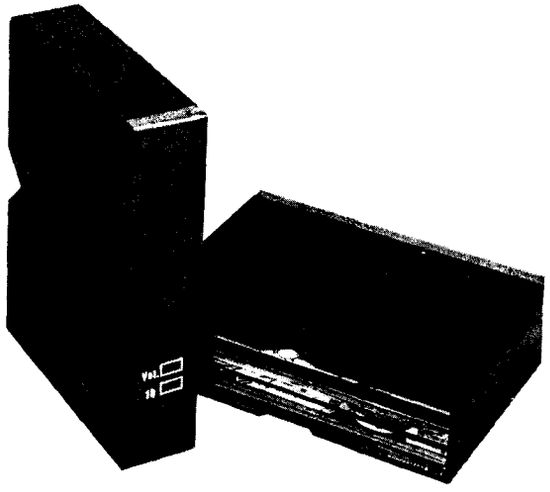

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CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 131)

the collapse of liberal management, or by finding a new ideology to guide our politics; for already we have charted too fine a political course, and gone astray within ourselves. Someday in the wake of our fine theories of class ideologies and historical struggles we shall have to admit that there are men on the other side, and that they are no more than we, the tools of political theory. We have shouted for many years that if only the politicians would step aside, then black children and white children in the state of Mississippi would salve with friendship the sores of oppression, and wax beautiful like their abused but lustrous land. Perhaps now we will bid farewell to political commentary, and hear our own voices.

EDWARD WITTEN
Brandeis University

Another Infallibility

Providence

To the Editors: The letter to the editors from Paul Reynolds [Feb. 28]—and its contention as to a "cardinal rule of the white Left: never contradict a black man no matter how vicious or absurd he may be"—reminded me of something we backers of Eugene McCarthy used to run into last year when we got into conversation with backers of Sen. Robert Kennedy.

The charge Kennedy people aimed at McCarthy was that he lacked sympathy with the poor and the blacks. Asking for proof of this charge, we were told to observe how little excitement there was for McCarthy among the poor and the blacks. We conceded this was true, but then argued that these people *should* have been excited about McCarthy: for, after all, he alone among all the candidates called unequivocally for guaranteed income, guaranteed medical care, guaranteed decent housing, and he was the candidate who was most outspoken in his opposition to the Vietnam war and to the militarization of American life which eats up the funds needed for social justice.

But no matter what we said, no matter how solid our evidence and our logic, the answer always came back: "The poor and the blacks don't like McCarthy; thus it is proved he doesn't like them."

Being underprivileged is not the same as being infallible—not even when the question at issue is one of self-interest. Therefore sympathy with the underprivileged does not require the abandonment of one's critical intelligence.

MAUREEN CONROY

Hesburgh's Law

New York

To the Editors: Your March 14 editorial "Hesburgh's Law," was to say the least, a disappointment. *Commonweal* has long enjoyed a reputation for careful reasoning and willingness to listen to both sides of an issue, a reputation which the editorial seems willing to compromise.

If Notre Dame's President erred in not submitting a draft of his statement to the Academic Council, he should at least be credited for consulting the Council and other representative bodies before issuing the letter—hardly a course of action conducive to "fascist dicta."

The editorial takes no account of the merits in the letter's statement that "understanding and analysis of social ills cannot be conducted in a boiler factory." Its author apparently gives little credence to the letter's observation that "compassion has a quiet way of service. Complicated social mechanisms, out-of-joint, are not adjusted by sledge hammers"—although this has been a characteristic trait of *Commonweal*'s editorial thrust in the past.

Campus recruitment, ROTC programs and alumni attitudes are certainly open to examination. But they must be scrutinized within a framework of due process. To deny the right to a fair hearing to any portion of our society is a pattern of conduct that is the spawning ground of totalitarian regimes of the right and of the left. Certainly, *Commonweal* has hardly given Father Hesburgh a fair hearing.

WILLIAM J. WILSON

Deserting the Deserters

Jacksonville, N.C

To the Editors: You lost my subscription when you started to advocate finding a means of returning deserters from Sweden. The country needs them just as much as I need termites in the foundation of my house.

PHILIP J. RASCH

Free Without Bail

Long Beach

To the Editors: I would like to take exception with one point made by Melvin Wulf's "Legal Quackery in D.C." [Feb 28], which suggests that the District of Columbia is the only political jurisdiction allowing persons awaiting trial to be released without money-bail.

In fact, California courts have for some time been practicing a system of O.R. (Own Recognizance) Release, by which a person awaiting trial, if considered a good risk by the prosecution and upon application by counsel, merely signs his promise to appear for trial at a specified time and date. This process applies in felony cases and misdemeanors alike, and has had the effect of relieving a great deal of the strain imposed upon the courts and detention facilities by releasing persons who would otherwise be compelled, due to financial necessity, to remain in custody.

I must agree with the essence of Mr. Wulf's remarks, however, when he argues that the Nixon administration's proposal of preventative detention is an arbitrary and unrealistic measure whose insidious shortcomings are far more predictable than any possible benefits that might derive from its implementation. To keep a person behind bars simply because he "might" commit a crime is a basic departure from the fundamental constitutional presumption of innocence and cannot be tolerated, even in the name of community protection.

CHARLES D. HALE

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Steve Allen's "daughter" almost died.

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